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To complement an urban geographical study of Thiès (1),

1. "La ville de Thiès /The City of Thiès/," to appear soon in Études Sénégalaises.

a city located about 60 kilometers as the crow flies from Dakar, we have made an investigation in the villages of its suburbs.

[175 496] The sole object of this investigation was to learn to what extent the presence of a city founded entirely by Europeans as early as 1885 (date of the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad) may have effects on the neighboring rural groupings.

Consequently, this study will deal only with the relations that may exist between the city and the neighboring villages; agricultural problems will be dealt with only to the extent that they help to clarify certain aspects of the question.

[563] Seven villages were chosen. These agglomerations contain populations that belong to the principal ethnic groups of the region: Sérère-none /Serer/ at Tiali, Thiès-none, and Sapko; Wolof at Diakhaté and Keur-Mamour; Bambara and Wassoulonké at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara (see the sketch below). All of these localities are located within a radius of less than ten kilometers around the city.

The presence of a city in a given region may have disturbed rural life in very different ways, depending on the distance from the village to the city and depending on its ethnic composition.

It may have acted on the choice of the site for the village, on its arrangement, on the creation of new rural groupings.

It may have caused modifications in the type of the traditional settlement, in its interior comforts, in its modes and methods of cultivation.

/372/ Finally, and above all, it may have led to more or less profound perturbations in the social and economic organization of the village.

Before developing these three points it seems necessary to

3: Savonnet--4 E-5 (no date) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30

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Before the arrival of the French garrison in 1865, the Sérère-none ruled supreme over the region. He was established as the traditional enemy of the Wolof, and from time to time he suffered from the incursions of his "tiédos" (2).

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2. Tiédos: name given to the Wolof war chiefs of Cayor.

After the definitive installation of our troops at Thiès and especially after the running of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad in 1885, many Wolof came to settle near our fortified post; at the same time they benefited from our pacificatory presence by being able to create farm villages in the heart of None country. Diakhaté was established about 1875-1880 (some of its founders worked on the construction of the railroad line in 1884); Keur-Mamour was created at about the same time.

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The Bambara villages are more recent: 1890-1895. These were the /374/ terrible years when Samory sacked the southern Sudan and the region of the Wassoulou (east of Beyla in Upper Guinea). Through the authorities, it seems, some of the Bambara and Wassoulonké freed by our troops were sent to Senegal where the policy of groundnut cultivation was in full development. Keur-Issa-Bambara and Karamoko were founded at this time.

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The city of Thiès was not very important at that time; it had hardly more than a thousand inhabitants. Nevertheless, it began to play a primary role; its presence imposed peace in the region formerly so disturbed by the None brigandage or the incursions of Wolof warriors. Its presence facilitated the founding of villages, the number of which would cease to grow in the subsequent period; all of the land capable of supporting crops was utilized at the beginning of the century.

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In the years preceding the Great War, the escale (1)

1. Escale: by extension signifies a stopping place, a commercial agglomeration.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

II. FRENCH ASSIMILATION IN PRACTICE

. . . that France above all should understand this great mission which the Lord has entrusted to her . . . by sending missions composed of men of clear courage and integrity and of superior intelligence . . . to serve as intermediaries and interpreters between these more or less savage people on the one hand and the civilisation and institutions of Europe on the other . . .

HEINRICH BARTH

IN a few short words the great German explorer Heinrich Barth summed up the ideals of French assimilationist policy in Africa. But as we have seen these ideals were to be tempered not only by the realities of colonial administration but also by the failure of the French ever to accept the full implications of an assimilationist policy. Nowhere was this clearer than in Senegal, where France carried out in one part of the country what may be described in terms of nineteenth-century colonial administration as a very advanced policy of assimilation whilst subjecting the rest of the country to an authoritarian rule unknown in British West Africa.

Senegal came into contact with the French in the early seventeenth century when French commercial companies started trading at the mouth of the river Senegal, first entered by Europeans in 1445. In 1659 Caullier founded the town of St. Louis on an island at the mouth of the river. For the rest of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, the fort he built there, around which grew up a prosperous trading town dominated by the great chartered companies, was to be the centre of French commercial activity on the west coast of Africa.

Though the French did explore the Senegal river and even established a fort at Podor in 1745, they had no control of the hinterland; their sphere of influence was strictly limited to the island on which St. Louis was built and to the

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British

5; Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

and only under the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the Napoleonic Wars was it finally returned to the French in 1817. Under King Louis XVIII, France embarked on a policy of European colonisation of Senegal. Colonel Schmaltz negotiated with Moctar Diop, the Lebou chief of the small village of Dakar, for land to settle 200 emigrants to be despatched from France under the auspices of the *Société Coloniale Philanthropique*. But climate and disease soon put an end to this venture. Nevertheless Schmaltz persisted with his schemes in St. Louis so that Senegal could by its products enrich the mother country. He made agreements with local chiefs for the agricultural settlement of part of the Oualo or hinterland of St. Louis and in 1819 a model farm was established to experiment in the growing of cotton, olives, dates, coconuts and coffee. This policy was pursued enthusiastically by his successor, Baron Roger, and a number of experiments, mainly concerned with cotton, were undertaken in the next few years. By 1822 nearly fifty concessions had been granted to the French by local chiefs and for the next five years further experiments were carried out by Monsieur Richard who started a full scale research station at what is now called Richard-Toll or Richard's field. But his efforts were not crowned with success, and later governors influenced by the reaction against colonialism in France lost interest in agricultural settlement. This was perhaps fortunate for modern Senegal, since had these first experiments been fruitful she might have been saddled with a settler problem today.

France was already working towards an assimilationist policy. A governmental despatch to Schmaltz informed him that his political aim should be 'to introduce gradually among the blacks of Senegal a civilisation based on free labour . . . education, and public peace . . .' It continued: 'A mulatto is now mayor of the capital of our possessions, and a black could become so too.' Two years later Baron Roger was informed that since most of the free population of St. Louis was mulatto or African it was 'very important

6: Mercier E-5 (no date) 1956 MS37 Senegal MS37

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preserve much of their prestige;[1] they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.[2]

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.[3]

The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.[4] At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.[5] At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional divergencies. [668] It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, [665] the first political party in French Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.[6] There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[563] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,[7] whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings./This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between [554] the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.[8] Even today a high

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2. Either officially or more or less 'clandestinely'.
3. E.g. in South Dahomey.
3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.
4. Trade centers have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.
5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.
6. It broke off its alliance with the French Communist party.
7. The Ouolof, the Toucouleur and the Serers.
8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

[175]

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7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

665 little misguided. He handed me a copy of the party manifesto.
648 On the front it read:

> 'At the historic moment of Bandung and of the Colonial and Imperialist system, at the moment when political confusion submerges Black Africa under French domination, our duty as Africans obliges us to bring before the masses of our country the problem of national independence and the transformation of our economy into a socialist economy.'

[204] He also handed me a copy of the party newspaper, *La Lutte*, 'The Battle', which is surprisingly well produced at an intellectual level. It even had an article explaining why Sputnik stayed up. On another page a cartoon demonstrated party feeling towards France: Picture I. Thin, Belsen figure, in casque colonial, sucks from straw the lifeblood of Africa—Picture II. Fatter version of this Frenchman leaves for home, a small Africa behind him.

But the magazine was directed not only against France. Jibes were made at the Minister of the Interior of the Senegal, and at the high wages paid to Ministers. Mahjemout Diop was later arrested on the orders of the Minister of the Interior.

OLD SENEGAL

Dakar—Gorée—St. Louis

369 [491] 361 [175] Our third afternoon in Dakar, Arnold and I took the afternoon ferry to Gorée, a tiny island embraced by the bay of Dakar. This island, which until the turn of the century was better known than Dakar itself, was discovered in 1444 by Dinis Dias, one of the early Portuguese explorers, and commands the entrance to the port of Dakar, so that for long it was prized as the most strategic of islands on the Guinea Coast. Today it is no more than an historical relic, but whether against a clear blue sky or of dark grey rain clouds massing for an assault on the mainland, it serves as a reminded that though in Africa the revolution has taken place largely over the last ten years, its groundwork has been prepared by centuries of contact with Europeans and their way of life.

The small ferry was crammed with trippers, armed with

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

369 'That must be the Batterie Nord.'

[699] As we passed a gang of prisoners shuffled through its main gates outside which lay rusting cannons, their barrels stopped with cement. In the shade of palm trees at the entrance to the fort a guard played draughts with one of the local inhabitants, whilst the wives of the prisoners washed clothes or prepared their evening meal. Only the grim bars set deep into the dark stonework of the fort indicated that it was used as a prison: otherwise the entrance to the fort was more like the gate of a Moslem city, such was the coming and going.

I took some photographs and remembered with amusement an account of a former Earl of Scarborough's visit to Gorée in his diary, *The Cruise of the African Witch, 1890*:

> 'As I was taking a photo of a part of the island a nigger had the audacity to tell me that no one was allowed to photograph in the neighbourhood of the fort, and when I asked him who he was, he said: "Je suis Français". I sent him about his business and he ran to tell the guard in the fort. Europeanized niggers are obnoxious and often intolerable.'

Eighteen-ninety is a long time ago for Dakar and Gorée, though unhappily in East Africa such sentiments are still not out of date.

As I walked down the rubble-filled streets of the island, the occasional perfectly preserved balcony or heavy wooden shutters conjured up vivid memories of the old colonial society that used to inhabit Gorée. Today fat black mammies lean over the balustrades to hang out their washing whilst their naked children play on the rusty cannons encased in the mud and sand of the pavements. From the Rue de Dakar, with its crumbling houses and elegant street lamps, I could see the skyscrapers of the mainland. Above the harbour, fish hawks glided lazily, swooping suddenly with outstretched talons and amazing precision on their prey, whilst in the water bronzed Frenchmen with underwater diving equipment conducted the same operation with less success. In Europe one rarely remarks upon the contrast between history and the present: the two are so constantly juxtaposed as to be unworthy of comment. Yet in West Africa, where nearly

[175] [633]

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37

Metropolis. Until recently the African élite has always come from St. Louis. It is a sort of spiritual centre of Black Africa. It had the first school—Lycée Faidherbe. And in 1866 it was given the first Hotel de Ville of the French Union. It is the cradle of the French Union. It would be a tragedy if it died.'

To such men as these it seems scandalous that St. Louis with its great history and traditions should give way to a parvenue like Dakar. Of all West African cities St. Louis is the one with the most illustrious and fascinating history. It was called St. Louis after the great French King, Louis XIII, in the middle of the seventeenth century. However, in the following century it began to expand into a town whose inhabitants were a distinct race, comparable to the Creoles of Sierra Leone. White and black intermarried to form a group known as the St. Louisians. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these were the great families of the Senegal, though today they are losing importance. Names like Carpot, Descanet, Deves, Guillabert and Crespin are still remembered with respect in St. Louis.

By the end of the eighteenth century the town had more than 7,000 inhabitants and in 1778 a mayor, who had to be chosen from the local population, was charged with the maintenance of good relations between the people and the Governor. In 1833 all inhabitants of St. Louis were given the status of French citizens.

Perhaps the most important date for St. Louis and for West Africa was 1854, when General Faidherbe was appointed Governor. Today his mark is still firmly on St. Louis. The ordered layout of the city and its streets were his work. The large bridge connecting the island on which St. Louis stands to the mainland is named after him. The city's most important and famous school is the Lycée Faidherbe. And even now one can listen to old folk sitting on the benches of the park, in which his statue stands, telling tales of the great General, who had fought against the famous Toucouleur chief, El Hadj Omar and brought Senegal, Soudan and Mauretania into the French orbit. Perhaps some of these old people are his own descendants, for he is reputed to have been a prolific father.

By 1878 St. Louis had grown to a city of 16,000 inhabitants, and despite the rapid expansion of Dakar and Rufisque farther down the coast, there was little to worry about the future.

8:Mercier E-5 (ca.1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

"The Four Communes of Senegal"

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The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

[563]

The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

[162]
[563]

[P.7A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [162] [439] Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined, losing people at the expense of Dakar and Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered a period of prosperity at the turn of the century.[15] During the late 19th century the composition of the population already was beginning to change fairly rapidly, especially in the expanding centers, but the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not only in urban life but also in the colony of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution had come into effect. The people of St. Louis most notably served as essential instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very clearly in the political realm. The coastal cities, in contrast to the interior cities and rural areas, had been introduced to the structure and organization through which modern political life is conducted long before the reforms of 1946. Political activity of the modern type was first limited to the European settlers but was [563] soon extended to the mixed-blood element and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who served as intermediary between the governor and the populace. In 1789 the [668] colony participated in metropolitan political activities, sending to the States-General a petition of grievances that demanded commercial freedom — *i.e.*, abolition of the Company monopoly — and the end of slavery. A satisfactory agreement was reached among employees of the Company, European businessmen, and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was never brought to fruition; a period of disorder set in and persisted until the rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was conferred upon all free inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizenship was extended to all inhabitants of

[P. 7B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.
[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.
[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

[p.9c]

[Illegible]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship [641] acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [647] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

[P. 8A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
MS37 Senegal MS37

369 in some years. Since the beginning of the
633 20th century, however, urban citizens
175 have taken an increasingly lively interest
[666] in political matters.[18]

In this restricted political system the
563 relative importance of the roles played by
668 different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves,
[166] the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered
[162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their num-
668 bers. Among the cities, St. Louis was
[369] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men
[645] were the first elected Senegalese to win broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au-
[642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

[P. 8 B]

8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

[p.8]

[illegible]

/667 cont./

563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[175] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the
[175] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./

/156 cont./

36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases: in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shanty-town, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 369 423 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it [166] was on these government lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

/157 cont./

175 369 [423] urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation, /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today [435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are [426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered; then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

[17]

The Village of Cambérène (Dakar)

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175 The village of Cambérène was founded about 1885 by the gathering of tabilés [disciples] around their teacher, Li Mamou Laye Thiaw, who had set up his dwelling near the watercourse Der Gui N'Dargou to the northeast of Yoff (east of the present gardens of the Government).

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622 Li Mamou died in 1909, and his brother, Seydina Issa Laye Thiaw, succeeded him at the head of the small zaouïa, which in 1914 was the victim of an epidemic of the plague.

Seydina Issa decided, as is generally done in such cases, to change the location of the little village.

361 Considering his first location unfavorable, being too near the Niaye, he decided to establish it in the open air in front of the heights of the string of littoral dunes on the very edge of the sea, which should, he thought, be healthier.

[369] Having ascertained that in Dakar an effort was made to align the houses and to put straight and wide streets between them, he resolved to order that, in establishing the new village, the

[346] center of the site was to be the mosque, which, first constructed of wood and straw, was replaced in 1939 by a handsome edifice of masonry.

To the north and south of the mosque, Seydina Issa laid out two parallel avenues east to west. He placed the dwellings of his family facing the entrance of the mosque, leaving open a large space which he had reserved to the east; at right angles to the principal streets, some north-south streets were laid out, and each family put its dwellings in the form of a U opening on the principal streets.

[18] [Fig. 1. appears here.]

The arrangement was subsequently respected, and the most recent of the 28 land-grants open on a third east-west avenue.

The curious fact of this very precise outline is not noted when one arrives at Cambérène by the road, nor when one goes about on foot within the village, and even the diagram on the map on a scale of 1/50,000 does not make it stand out. Thus, it was a

15: Mauny--3 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/73 cont./

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Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/," Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

/71 cont./

133 The presence of a marl-calcareous horizon at a slight depth, the arrangement of the layers sloping toward the east, has favored the formation of a perpetual phreatic layer close to the surface and capable of supplying all the wells of the Thiès plateau.

The Thiès slope describes a concave line 40 kilometers long which begins in the north at the height of Mont-Rolland and ends abruptly in the south at the height of the village of [361] Tiao. The brow of the slope, with an average altitude of 100 meters, is cut broadly and deeply only by the "Ravin des Voleurs." At the foot of the slope there stretches a depressed, more or less swampy zone, /72/ /Fig. 1 appears here/ which borders it from north to south. Beyond Mont-Rolland, toward the northwest, accumulations of dune sand extend to the ocean (Fig. 1).

369 During the period of the pacification of Senegal by ●175 Faidherbe, Thiès was only a small village of unruly Sérère-None /Serer/, pillagers of caravans when the occasion presented itself. This village was established near the actual site [361] of the Faidherbe Redoubt, in a shaded and cool spot, hence the name "Diankhène" which was given to it and which means place of repose.

In 1856 Dakar was founded, and Saint-Louis developed. [648] A treaty concluded with the damel of Cayor (2) authorized the

2. Damel, Wolof word meaning sovereign.

[206] installation of a telegraph line to connect these two cities. But the execution of the work came up against the ill-will of the damel and the continual insecurity that prevailed in the region of Thiès.

After the creation of the post of Mbidjem, near Lake Tanma, the /73/ post of Thiès was built in 1863. Its [361] role was to pacify and to cover, in case of necessity, [487] the troops that operated in the region. The latter, coming from Gorée and from Dakar, took the trail /piste/ from Rufisque to Pout and from there reached the post of Thiès and Cayor by way of the "Ravin des Voleurs," the only easy and direct passage that connected Cayor with the Cape Verde Peninsula.

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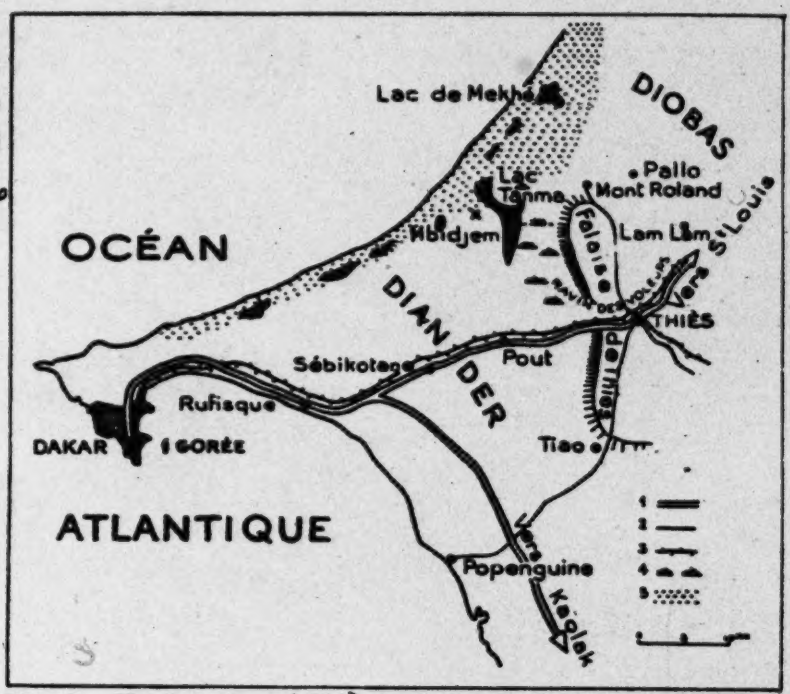

Fig. 1. The location of Thiès in Senegal. 1. Main paved road; 2. secondary road; 3. railroad; 4. swamps; 5. sand.

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Verde Peninsula. As long ago as this epoch Thiès seems to have been a strategic point and support point of primary importance.

As early as 1880 the provinces of Diander and Diobas were pacified. The military posts lost their importance and were abandoned one after the other, for example, Nguiguis (near Tivaouane) and Mbidjem. Only the one at Thiès, because of its exceptional location, survived and developed.

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2. The commercial escale (1880-1923).

The years of the decade 1880-1890 correspond to the period of the development of groundnut cultivation in Senegal and to the construction of the Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad.

/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.
[162] In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200 inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 498 [175] 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as [162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 441 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up [472] [563] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177]

4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/373/

therefore one of the Old World's closest points to South America (4). Dakar and Natal are about 3,000 kilometers apart.

4. Cape Roxo and the region of Freetown are closer from Cape St. Roque by 250 kilometers (cf. J. Richard Molard, in "La presqu'île du Cap-Vert /The peninsula of Cape Verde/," I.F.A.N., Dakar, p. 10).

These advantages of site and location, however, should not make one forget that the tip of the peninsula of Cape Verde did not have easy access. On the one hand, the shallow depths which border it on its north front caused many shipwrecks, the pillage of which in part supported the riparian populations, and, on the other hand, it did not offer any security for the possible establishment of a settlement because of the very independent character of the Lébou, who were tightly organized in a geronto-theocratic republic under the authority of the "Great Serigne" (5).

5. Great Marabout.

after being freed from the bondage of the Damel (6) around 1809.

6. King of Cayor.

Thus, one should not be surprised that the actual occupation of the peninsula by France was very late. For a long time the island of Gorée better satisfied the needs of the early navigators. Discovered by the Portuguese at the same time as Cape Verde, in 1444, the island, located off the southeastern cape of the peninsula, was still uninhabited when the Hollanders appeared at Cape Verde in 1588. In 1617 the latter bought it from the chiefs of the coast "for iron and some nails" (7). This island of less than a

7. Dr. Cariou, note on Gorée in "La

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presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

[103]

8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

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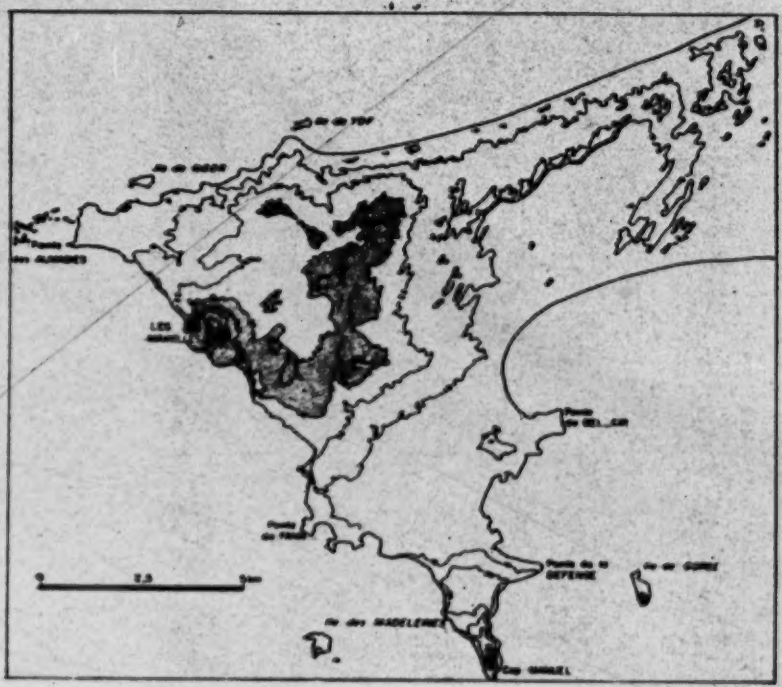

Fig. 1 The site of Dakar.

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of making it a kind of colony (Pl. XXI A).

But at the same time, with slavery abolished, Europe was instituting new forms of relations with the underdeveloped countries, imposing itself on the populations for the establishment of a new order less cruel than slavery and better suited for profitable improvements that were more diversified, more systematic, and more in accord with the requirements of the European societies which the technical and industrial revolution was more and more transforming. From this perspective, Dakar could become an incomparable point of support: its site was favorable for the establishment of a city; its coves could harbor a military port and a commercial port.

[912]

Thus, on 25 May 1857, Dakar was officially occupied in the

[See category 116, P. 15--Analyst]

/375 cont./

175 369 [712] name of France by the post-captain Protet, who materialized this taking of possession by the construction of a protective fort, from which outfitting soon began. Work on the port[1] began in [505] 1862, and, on 4 November 1866, the first accomplishments were inaugurated by the first passage of a packet-boat. As early [504] as the first of April 1864, the lighthouse of the Grande-Mamelle was lighted, followed two years later, on the first of December 1866, by the two lighthouses with fixed lights at Cape Manuel and the Pointe des Almadies /Cape Almadies/. A first plan for the future city was approved by the decree of 1 July 1862, while from this time on a plan for a railroad to link Dakar and Saint-Louis agitated opinion.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts, the launching of Dakar, put under the administrative guidance of Gorée, was difficult; the city was unpopulated, the Goréans monopolizing the lands without wanting to leave their island. Moreover, Rufisque, closer to the regions where groundnuts were cultivated, was better located for commerce with the interior and, because of this, contributed to blocking the development of Dakar. But [633] the decree of 17 June 1887 separating Dakar from Gorée marked a decisive turning point (1885) in the life of the new creation.

369 2. Dakar, metropolis before being a city. Having become an autonomous center as a result of the Conference of Berlin, at a period when the colonial rivalries between the great powers were accentuated, Dakar benefited from the effective support /376/ of a mother country determined to make it a base for its expansion in West Africa.

504 369 It was the port in particular that was to be the essential instrument of the launching and of the power of Dakar. Its first elements constructed shortly after the occupation were clearly insufficient, and as early as 1892 it was necessary to extend the old embankment by 200 meters and to add on to it a pier of 280 meters (present Pier III). But it was especially from 1899 that [712] the great works began. The military port, which had to serve as

[1] [i.e., The Port of Dakar--Analyst]

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable.

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon.

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30
Trarza MS24

reaching St. Louis. This disaster has been made famous by the celebrated painting of Théodore Géricault.

As St. Louis was in British hands until the early months of 1817, Schmaltz established his capital at Cape Verde.

The first settlers from France were sponsored by the Société Coloniale Philanthropique, and consisted of 175 men, 20 women, and 10 children. Their intention was to settle in the Cape Verde peninsula. This was against the advice of Schmaltz, who thought that part of the country unsuitable. The settlers landed at Goree in April 1817, shortly afterwards crossing to the mainland; but, owing to the attitude of the natives, they were unable to obtain land or labour. At the end of two months there were only six left on the peninsula: the remainder had been repatriated to France or had retired to St. Louis, Goree, or the Gambia. Schmaltz was able to prevent the philanthropic but misguided society from sending eighty more colonists to the same place.

Attempts to establish European colonists met with more success on the Senegal. In 1819 Schmaltz had no difficulty in obtaining from the chiefs of Oualo all the land he wanted on the left bank of the river. In return, the chiefs were given annual subsidies (*coutumes*) amounting to some 10,000 francs. This arrangement was to lead to endless trouble. Cotton, coffee, indigo, and tobacco were to be the principal crops, and colonists were not lacking.

The natives of Oualo were peaceable, but the Trarza and Brakna Arabs, who claimed to be suzerains over Oualo, were hostile. At first they raided the colonists, but later they were defeated by troops from St. Louis in a number of skirmishes. Eventually the French recognized nominal Arab suzerainty, and the colonists were allowed to develop their holdings in relative quiet. Nevertheless, the Trarza Arabs continued to give trouble until 1835, when, after a series of defeats, they entered into a treaty by which they abandoned all claims to Oualo. The French armed post of Dagana was built for the protection of the settlers, and an experimental station was started at Richard Toll for their instruction. The French Government supplied seeds and implements and paid a bonus on crops, and some forty European plantations were established. At first they seemed to succeed, but the climate, the labour difficulties, and the hostile attitude of the natives combined against them. In 1830 the home government withdrew its subsidy, and the plantations were soon abandoned. Since that date the French, while not discouraging European enterprise, have relied for agricultural development principally on the native farmer.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

development principally on the native farmer. Trade, not agriculture, took the French farther up the river. In 1820 the post of Bakel was founded, and, under the auspices of Governor Roger, the Société de Galam established stations at Medine, at Mahina, and on the Falémé. The foundation of the company marked a partial return to the monopolistic policy of the previous century. Trade on the upper Senegal was reserved to the company from 1 January to 1 August each year. This caused much dissatisfaction, and the restriction disappeared with the winding-up of the company in 1840.

Like Brue, his predecessor of 120 years before, Roger explored Bambouk for its mineral wealth, but decided that the soundest method of developing Senegal was to expand its trade and agriculture.

The Gum Trade. After the attempts at European colonization had failed, there developed in the gum trade a boom which reached its maximum in 1838. It will be remembered that, by the Peace of Paris, Great Britain had retained the exclusive right of carrying on this trade along the coast between Portendick and Arguin bay. Elsewhere the French reserved all this trade for their own nationals. Like other trades of the time, that in gum was carried on under a system of subsidies (*coutumes*) to native chiefs and fixed markets (*escales*). This system has been described above on p. 327, and was extremely lucrative to the Arabs. Moreover, the French Government in its treaties usually undertook to pay a subsidy to the chiefs, partly as ground rent for the posts it might establish in their territory, and partly in consideration of the goodwill and protection they were to afford to French trade.

Even so, the years between 1830 and 1860 saw material French extension and development. The following figures (the first two of which represent imports only) show the growth of trade of Senegal from the days of André Brue to those of Faidherbe.

Year	*Thousands of francs*
1700	700
1786	7,260
1821	2,100
1830	3,000
1837	7,000
1838	17,000
1839	13,600
1840	11,800
1845	23,000
1855	14,500
1863	33,100
1869	35,900

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

After another victory in March at Diagane near Merinaghen, Faidherbe annexed Oualo. He divided it into provinces under chiefs nominated by himself, and set up Fara Penda, who remained faithful, as king. In two years many villages destroyed by the Arabs were rebuilt and the population of Oualo rose from 17,000 to 34,000. Faidherbe, who was loath to use force before persuasion had failed, then offered Mohammed el Abib peace if he would renounce the subsidies. The Arab replied by demanding an increase in payments, the destruction of French forts, the prohibition of armed vessels on the Senegal, and the recall of Faidherbe to France. During the absence of Faidherbe in Oualo, Mohammed el Abib advanced in April 1855 to the gates of St. Louis, from which he was beaten back. This marked the limit of Arab successes. In the following January an engagement near Lake Cayar resulted in the capture of 600 tribesmen, and other skirmishes had similar results. Despairing of bringing the main Arab armies to a pitched battle, Faidherbe determined to subdue them by famine, and set himself to destroy or capture their cattle and supplies. By May 1856 these tactics reduced the Arabs to dire straits, and several tribes submitted. The chief's son Ely fled to Diambour. Faidherbe pursued him, and annexed the province which is now Louga. Mohammed el Abib held on, however, and in 1857 invaded Oualo. He was heavily defeated. At last he sued for peace, and on 20 May 1858 signed a treaty (p. 328). A parallel treaty was concluded with the Brakna Arabs at Podor on 10 June.

Although the commercial provisions of these treaties were revised later, they brought to an end, once and for all, the Arab menace to the peace and development of Senegal.

In 1859 a similar organization to that of Oualo was set up for Dimar, thus extending the colony as far up the river as Podor.

Further Penetrations. Faidherbe's dealings with the Arabs and the Ouolofs have been described in some detail, as they illustrate his abilities as a general, a diplomatist, and an administrator. By the same combination of force and diplomacy he, or his successor Pinet-Laprade, brought Fouta, Toro, the whole Ferlo country, Cayor, Sine, Saloum, and the Casamance under effective French control. He thus completed the outline of the modern colony. In 1859 the fanatically Moslem Toucouleur of Fouta, under their Almami, Mahamadu Birane, submitted to a division into three independent states under French protection: Dagana, Fouta, and Toro. In 1862, while Faidherbe was in France, the Almami revolted and tried to re-establish his paramountcy. This revolt was quelled

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

after severe fighting, and in 1863 Fouta and Toro were definitely annexed by the French.

Cayor. The state of Cayor extended from Cape Verde northward along the coast nearly to St. Louis, and at the end of the eighteenth century it had obtained independence of the Ouolofs. Goree had been taken by the French from the Dutch in 1677, and by treaties of 1764 and 1765 the Damel of Cayor had ceded the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula in full sovereignty to France. He had further agreed to restrain his subjects from pillaging the cargoes of wrecks and from imprisoning their crews. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 180 bars, one-third in iron and the remainder in merchandise.

These treaties, however, had never been implemented. In 1825 Governor Roger considered them dead, and advised Frenchmen who wished to acquire land in the peninsula to make their own arrangements with the native authorities. At the same time, Roger made a fresh convention regarding wrecks, which was no more observed than the earlier treaties. In 1832 land was purchased for a cemetery on the mainland and in 1846 a mission of the Society of the Sacred Heart, which received a government subsidy until 1906, was established at Dakar.

The population of Goree, some 5,000 persons, needed wood, water, building materials, and fresh provisions, which they could only purchase at extortionate prices on the mainland. All efforts to conclude agreements with the chiefs on these matters failed, and wreckers' profits were not to be diminished by scraps of paper. Security was needed for the projected railway from St. Louis and it was desirable to give the priests protection. In 1857, therefore, the French Government authorized the construction of a fort on the mainland. Birahima, the reigning Damel of Cayor, at first acquiesced in this occupation, largely because his authority over the Lebous who inhabited the peninsula had long been but nominal. The post was used by Faidherbe for a base for his operations in 1859. In that year, after the battle of Fatik (18 May), the tribesmen of Sine, Saloum, and Baol submitted to French authority, and posts were created at Joal and Kaolack. Trouble arose under the Damel's successor, Makodou, who refused to recognize Birahima's agreement to allow a French road and telegraph line from St. Louis to Goree to be run through Cayor. A French column from St. Louis under Faidherbe met an expedition under Pinet-Laprade from Goree and occupied Makodou's capital, Mekhé, on 12 January 1861. On 1 February he accepted

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30

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French protection. Hardly was Faidherbe's back turned when Makodou repudiated his engagements. A fresh expedition was necessary, and on 12 March Makodou's forces were repulsed again at Diati near Mekhé. Faidherbe thereupon encouraged an internal revolt, which resulted in the flight of Makodou and the recognition of Madiodio as Damel. He in his turn was dethroned by Lat Dior, whom the French also recognized. He also failed to observe his predecessor's treaties, and in 1863 Faidherbe marched against him and re-established Madiodio. In the December of that year Lat Dior gathered his forces and fell upon the French garrison of Goumbo Gueoul, when Captain Lorans and almost all his detachment of 140 tirailleurs were killed. This time there were no half measures: Lat Dior's army was cut to pieces by Pinet-Laprade near Pout on 12 January 1864, but he himself escaped to the Gambia. Faidherbe then suppressed the native kingdom, established a French protectorate, and divided Cayor into cantons, each under a chief of his own appointment.

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In 1865 Pinet-Laprade, who had succeeded Faidherbe, had to deal with a mallam named Maba, who threatened to involve in a holy war not only Cayor but also the country as far east as Fouta. In 1869 Lat Dior again invaded Cayor, and in 1871 was again recognized by the French as Damel, though shorn of part of his territory. This arrangement worked well for ten years, and when Ahmadu Checkhou, a mallam of Toro, invaded Cayor, the French could not refuse armed aid to Lat Dior. The former was defeated and killed by French forces at Boumdou near Coki in February 1875. In 1881 Lat Dior once more gave trouble by opposing the construction of a railway, and, after military operations, he was replaced by his nephew. Internal unrest followed for some years and Lat Dior tried to take advantage of it; but on 26 October 1886 he was defeated and killed. The protectorate was finally abolished, and Cayor was annexed to the colony.

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At the close of Faidherbe's term of office in 1865 modern Senegal may be said to have emerged. It would be a mistake to regard him only as a conqueror, for, though his primary object was to impose French authority, Senegal owes to him the foundation of its civil administration, its education, its banking system, and its Survey Department. Sympathetic to the natives, he tried to preserve their institutions to the utmost extent compatible with his primary object. While not prepared to discourage European colonization under suitable conditions, Faidherbe considered that the main agricultural

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Soninke MS 21

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[439]

development must be by native farmers guided by French instructors and aided by French capital. In 1861 French colonial trade, which had hitherto been restricted to French merchants and the French flag, was thrown open to all nations, though French goods continued to have a preference. This reform was not well received by the conservative merchants of St. Louis, but there can be no doubt that it rapidly proved of benefit to the colony.

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Mahmadu Lamine. The last challenge to French rule within the boundaries of Senegal arose from a Soninké mallam named Mahmadu Lamine. Having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he set up as a holy man at Medine and proceeded to interfere in the domestic concerns of the natives of Bondou. Rebuffed by their rightful ruler, he installed himself at Sénoudébou early in 1886, proclaimed himself a mahdi, and claimed a holy mission to restore the ancient power of the Sarakollé dynasty (Vol. I, p. 168). In March and April he attacked the fort of Bakel, at the head of 12,000 fanatics, but was repulsed. In May Colonel Frey marched out from St. Louis with a strong column which relieved Bakel. Notwithstanding this, Mahmadu again invaded Bondou, where he defeated and killed the king. Then he attacked the French post at Sénoudébou, crossed the Senegal, and endeavoured to cut the French communications between Bakel and Kayes. Galliéni himself, who had been recently appointed to command the troops in Upper Senegal, took the field against him and broke his power in several engagements. The mallam fortified himself at a village 46 miles south-west of Tambacounda. This village was taken by the French on 8 December 1887. Mahmadu escaped; but he was attacked by allies of the French on 9 December, and two days later died of his wounds. All the tribes of the country north of the Gambia boundary then sought French protection. Later disturbances in Senegal had their origin either in internal tribal dissensions or in dislike of closer control by France. In all respects they were minor affairs.

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The Consolidation of French Rule. The original treaties, of which the French negotiated some 130 between 1785 and 1891 with the chiefs of Senegal, dealt with trade only. They fixed the rents and rates payable by each individual trader, and usually gave subsidies to the chiefs in return for their goodwill. These treaties did not attempt to deal with the internal administration of the tribes or with their foreign relations. The next stage was a treaty of friendship and protection, in which the native state was free to conduct its own affairs, subject only to the general guidance of French Residents.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

At this stage no French taxation was imposed. Faidherbe was the first to insist that the election of any chiefs must be subject to his approval, and from this time onwards the French hold gradually grew tighter. As the French historian Sabatié has put it:

> 'These treaties guaranteed the political organization, the religion, customs, institutions, and laws of the native country concerned. They were designed to ensure the security of our commerce and respect for the property of our nationals and our subjects, and they stipulated, by way of compensation, the collection of certain taxes on cattle and exported products for the benefit of chiefs. As a result of the evolution of the colony and its economic and administrative necessities, the clauses and obligations of these treaties have lapsed.'

The system lasted until towards the end of the nineteenth century; but from that time onwards native powers, especially over judicial matters, land, and tribute, have been gradually curtailed. Native chiefs have become agents appointed by the Government, and native administrative institutions have almost everywhere been deliberately abolished. This policy has its roots not only in administrative convenience but also in a strong sense of duty to the individual native and a desire to protect him from misrule.

The Modern Constitution

Until 1920 the four communes of Dakar, Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis were described as the territory under direct administration, the remainder of the colony as a protectorate. In that year the distinction, which had long been one without a difference, was formally abolished.

Senegal, being the oldest colony, contains about a quarter of the whole European population of French West Africa. It also contains a larger proportion of educated and politically minded natives than the other colonies, and its constitution is more democratic. This last fact is mainly due to the equalitarian doctrines of the July Monarchy at the time when the personal status of Senegalese native citizens and their rights as Frenchmen were determined. In 1833 the French Parliament enacted that any person born free, or having legally acquired his liberty, enjoyed in the French colonies both civil and political rights under conditions prescribed by law. In 1848, therefore, when the colony first acquired the right to send a deputy to the French Parliament, natives born in the French settlements of Goree, Rufisque, and St. Louis, the only French soil in Senegal at the time, became entitled to the Parliamentary vote and to all the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
St. Louis

361 The oldest part of St. Louis (Fig. 53) stands on an island in the estuary of the Senegal. This island is some 2,400 yards long and averages 350 yards in width, and its southern extremity is 13½ miles from the mouth of the river. It has three main suburbs, N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar on the Langue de Barbarie, and Sor on the mainland.

History

361 Early navigators in search of the gold of Bambouk used the Senegal
175 as a means of entry to the interior, and in 1658 a settlement was
[487] founded. This was the first French post in West Africa, and it was named after the patron saint of King Louis XIV. Its story has largely
[103] been told elsewhere, since, from the first, it played a prominent part in the general history of French West Africa as a whole and of Senegal in particular. The main events in the past were its capture by
[648] the British in 1759, its recapture in 1779, its second capture in 1809, and its final restoration to the French in 1817. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it steadily grew in size and wealth, but in recent years it has been forced, both commercially and politically, to yield to Dakar.

The Town

361 The original island is now almost completely covered with buildings. These include Government House (Senegal), the Law Courts, the principal barracks, the power station, and the Roman Catholic church in the centre; the prison, two mosques, and another barracks to the north; and the hospital and another mosque to the south. N'Dar Toute has Government House (Mauritania) (Plate 92),
[964] the market, and yet another barracks, and Sor has the railway stations and the cemeteries. Guet N'Dar is inhabited almost entirely by natives.

491 The western arm of the river is crossed by two bridges. The
361 Geôle Bridge, 150 yards long, connects the main town to N'Dar Toute, and it takes its name from the prison near its eastern end. Five hundred and sixty yards south of it is the Servotuis Bridge, the western end of which marks the dividing line between N'Dar Toute and Guet N'Dar. At the other end of it is an open space at present called Place Pétain. In a line with the Servotuis Bridge is the Faidherbe Bridge across the main stream. Built in 1900, this bridge is 570 yards long and has six fixed spans and a roadway 37 feet wide. Near its western end is a swing bridge with two openings each of 30 yards.

Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37 Dakar

History

Until the middle of the nineteenth century Dakar was a Lebou village. In 1846, however, a Roman Catholic convent was built there, and eleven years later the village and the Cape Verde peninsula were officially occupied. In 1858 the French Government signed a contract with the Messageries Impériales (now the Messageries Maritimes) whereby ships sailing between Bordeaux and Rio de Janeiro would call at Dakar. The company acquired 7½ acres of land near Dakar point, and in 1863 a small jetty was built. This was the beginning of the port. In 1864 a lighthouse was constructed near Cape Verde and three years later two others, respectively at Almadi point and at Cape Manuel. In 1885 the railway to St. Louis was opened. It was not, however, until 1898 that the idea was conceived of making Dakar a big naval base, and by 1910 it was capable of accommodating vessels of all types. Further improvements have since been effected, and to-day the dry dock is big enough to take a battleship.

The Town

Dakar has grown so as to cover the southern part of the Cape Verde peninsula, but the port is on the east side of the town. On the south-west are the cliffs of Madeleines bay and on the south-east those of Bernard bay. Dakar point marks the northern end of the latter. North of the port is Bel Air point, the southern limit of Hann bay.

The medina or native town, which contains nearly half the population, is to the north-west of the main town. The intercolonial road enters the latter from the north and is continued as the Avenue Gambetta and the Avenue Maginot to an open space where stands the Roman Catholic cathedral. East of the cathedral is the Residence of the Governor-General (Vol. I, Plate 58), magnificently situated on the top of the cliffs overlooking Bernard bay. Farther south are the British Consulate, the Pasteur Institute, the botanical gardens, and, almost at Cape Manuel, the isolation hospital. The buildings of the army headquarters are near Dakar point. West of them are the port offices, the telephone exchange, the principal market, the Mairie (Plate 117), and the law courts. The town contains innumerable shops and offices and many clubs, cafés, hotels, and other amenities of modern civilization.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[DAKAR]

route from Paris to Santiago and was also the terminus of local services to Bamako and to St. Louis. The Aéromaritime company used to run flying-boat services to Conakry, Abidjan, Lagos, Douala, and Pointe Noire. 509

Wireless. The broadcasting station is near Madeleines bay, 700 yards north-west of the cathedral. A small station, transmitting to ships, is on Bel Air point. 206

Cable. Dakar is connected by cable to Casablanca, to Brest, to Fernando Noronha (Brazil), and to Conakry. The two latter cables are landed in the south-west of Bernard bay, not far from the Pasteur Institute. There is, however, a telephone cable to Goree island. This is landed on the north-west shore of the same bay.

Shipping. Lines normally serving the port include the following: America West African, Bull, Chargeurs Réunis, Elder Dempster, Fabre, Fraissinet, Gdynia America, Hamburg-Bremen, Holland West Afrika, Italia, Lloyd Triestino, Maurel et Prom, Messageries du Sénégal, Navigazione Generale Italiana, Société Générale des Transports, Société Maritime Belge des Transports, and Société Navale de l'Ouest. 505

Coasting vessels sail regularly for Port Etienne, St. Louis, Kaolack, and Ziguinchor.

GOREE (14° 39′; 17° 23′ W.). Population, 714. Custom-house. Barracks and military hospital. 36 [131] [162] [712]

The rocky island of Goree (Plate 112) has an area of 138 acres. The first Europeans to land on it were the Portuguese in 1445, and since then it has had a chequered history, which has been told elsewhere in these volumes. [175]

Most of the centre of the island is occupied by buildings, and in the south there is the old fort. In the extreme north is a large lime-kiln. [381]

The only source of water is an artesian well in the fort. [312]

Trade. Trade is now limited to the ordinary requirements of the islanders, and traffic to taking them and their goods to and from the mainland. [938]

Harbour. In the north-east of the island there is a little bay where there are three jetties, only one of which (Plate 121) is now in use. The depth at its head is 10 feet. [504]

RUFISQUE (14° 41′; 17° 12′ W.). Population, 19,764, including 180 Europeans. Full Commune. Custom-house. Medical post. Barracks. Police headquarters. Power station. Hotel. Garage. [131] [162] [712]

22 Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

[RUFISQUE]

439 Rufisque was the first port from which ground-nuts were exported, and to-day ground-nuts are still the main article of trade. In the first quarter of 1939 it exported 25,152 tons of them. On the north side
504 of Goree bay, Rufisque can only handle small ships. There is anchorage off shore in 3–7 fathoms, but from July to November heavy swell makes it almost unusable.

633 Since 1937 the town has been in the District of Dakar.

Jetties and Equipment. There are three jetties with alongside depths
504 of at least 9½ feet. Two of these are of iron, one being 603 feet long and 33 feet wide with an extension by a wharf 65 feet long and 52 feet wide. The third is of concrete and is 656 feet long. Decauville tracks connect these jetties to the railway. There is one 5-ton crane and one 2-ton, besides smaller ones. There are 4 tugs and 2 lighters.

Communications

496 *Rail.* By rail Rufisque is 17 miles from Dakar, 26½ miles from Thiès, 146 miles from St. Louis, and 268 miles from Tambacounda.

491 *Road.* The intercolonial road runs from Dakar (15 miles) through to Thiès (29 miles), where it divides. Eight miles beyond Rufisque a colonial road branches off it to go to M'Bour (38 miles), Joal (61 miles), and Fatik (101 miles). Another colonial road goes north-eastwards from the town to Sangalkan (6 miles) and Kayar (17 miles).

36 [131] [162] M'Bour (14° 21′; 16° 57′ W.). Population, *c.* 4,500, including 175 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post. Police station.

The town of M'Bour stands at the head of a shallow cove which extends for a mile out to sea as a passage between two reefs. Inside [504] the cove the water is up to 4½ feet deep, and there is a wharf used by surf-boats. Ships anchor 2½ miles off shore, but heavy swell makes [439] conditions difficult from June to November. Ground-nuts and millet are exported.

[491] M'Bour is on the colonial road from Rufisque (38 miles) to Joal (23 miles) and Fatik (63 miles). Several minor roads lead inland, [494] notably one to Thiès, along which there is a bus service twice a day. For half the year there is also a service to Joal.

[131] [164] Joal (14° 09′; 16° 51′ W.). Population, *c.* 900. Custom-house. Roman Catholic mission.

[175] Joal was founded by the Norman Company in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was captured by the Dutch in 1677 and by

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[JOAL]

the British 70 years later, and it did not finally become French until 1763. It is on a sandspit in front of a coastal lagoon. Off shore there is a large sandbank, exposed at low tide.

There is a small wharf, but, owing to the difficulty of access, there is very little trade. In 1937, for example, only 4,600 tons of goods were handled and their value was 4,600,000 francs (£36,970).

The colonial road from Fatik (40 miles) to M'Bour (23 miles) and Rufisque (61 miles) runs through the town. There are also minor roads. From November to June there is a bus service to M'Bour and Thiès four days a week.

FOUNDIOUGNE (14° 06′; 16° 29′ W.). Population, 2,734. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Custom-house. Medical post.

Foundiougne is on an island formed by the Saloum, the Djomboss, and their connecting channels. Much of the district is swampy, but the town itself is on a piece of firm ground on the left bank of the Saloum, 33 miles from the sea.

Anchorage in the river is in 3½ fathoms. There are 8 wharves, of which 1 is owned by the municipality.

The principal export is ground-nuts, but in recent years Foundiougne has declined in prosperity. This is owing to the rise of Kaolack, which is better situated on the north bank of the river and which has much better communications.

There is a ferry across the river, and from its far side a rough road leads to Fatik. South of the river there is a colonial road eastwards to Kaolack (32 miles). Along both these roads there is a bus service, daily in the dry season and fortnightly in the wet.

FATIK (14° 18′; 16° 27′ W.). Population, 3,521, including 128 Europeans. Mixed Commune. District headquarters. Medical post. Police station. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School. Garage.

At Nonane, on Marigot de Fatik 14½ miles above its junction with the Saloum, is the site of one of the old *escales*. This is the upper limit for boats drawing 10 feet, but smaller craft can ascend a further 7 miles to Fatik, 58 miles from the sea. The town is on the right bank of the river, which is here called the Sine.

Trade is chiefly in ground-nuts.

Colonial roads lead north to Bambey (27 miles), south-east to Kaolack (28 miles), and south-west to Joal (60 miles), and a minor road south to Foundiougne.

The landing-ground is half a mile west of the town.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Mali MS35

3. Thiès–Kidira (352½ miles).
4. Diourbel–Touba (31 miles).
5. Guinguiné–Kaolack (14 miles).
6. Kaolack–Lyndiane (6½ miles).

History

The first plan for a railway was made by Pinet-Laprade in 1857. It was to connect the head of navigation on the Senegal with a suitable point on the Niger, and in 1863 Mage prospected the country between Medine and Bamako. During the next fifteen years or so various other schemes were proposed. All of them were chiefly concerned with the military conquest of Cayor, of the middle Niger basin, a[illegible] of the lands between Timbuktu and Algeria. Many of them envisage[illegible] a trans-Saharan line, and there seems to have been little thought of economic development.

On 5 February 1880 a Bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies to authorize a line from Dakar to St. Louis with a branch to Medine and the middle Niger. It was considerably amended before being passed, the chief alteration being the excision of the section from St. Louis to Medine.

Surveys of the two other sections were made, and on 21 June 1882 a contract was signed with the Société de Construction des Batignolles to build a line from Dakar to St. Louis. This company remained the owner of the line until it was bought out by the Government in 1933. European labour was largely employed in construction, and this meant that work had to be suspended from July to November each year. In spite of this and other difficulties, the line was opened on 6 July 1885. This was the first railway in West Africa.

It soon became apparent that faulty methods had been used. The wooden sleepers were eaten by termites and the track had been very poorly ballasted. These defects, however, were eventually remedied.

The railway achieved its military purpose, but its economic results were of equal value. In particular, it stimulated the production of ground-nuts by providing means for their export. This had important effects on the development of Dakar and of Rufisque.

Meanwhile a little progress had been made on the section linking the Senegal with the Niger. In contradistinction to the Dakar–St. Louis line, the work was done by the Government. It had an inauspicious beginning. Medine is 625 miles by river from St. Louis and can only be reached by barge in August and September. Material brought from the port was seldom taken farther than Kayes, and goods

22: Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

were dumped there and at places even farther downstream. These had to be transported upstream in barges drawn by men. Diseases, especially yellow fever, caused many deaths, and there were endless difficulties with workmen, both European and native. Furthermore, the country was not fully known and only half pacified. Work began at Medine in the middle of 1881, but the military post at Kita was less than six months old, and that at Bamako was not set up until 1883. By the end of 1881 precisely one kilometre of the line had been completed. In the following year the ships started from St. Louis too late and could not even reach Kayes. There were several epidemics of typhoid and several fires in the store dumps.

By 1884 there were 34 miles of track, but it was so badly constructed as to be incapable of supporting the weight of a locomotive. There was no ballast, poor local wood was used for sleepers, curves were too sharp, and gradients were too severe. In 1888 the work was handed over to the French Marines, who made some improvements in the existing track and extended it to Mahina, a distance of 66 miles. It was still unusable. In the following year a Commission was appointed, and made various recommendations, some of which showed that the original purpose of the line had become obscured. By 1891 there were 79 miles of metre-gauge track from Kayes to Mahina, a ferry across the Bafing, 24 miles of 60 cm.-gauge track from there to Diouléba, and 3 miles of 50 cm.-gauge track beyond that place. In the same year another Commission was appointed, and in the following year a party of engineers was sent out under the command of Major Joffre. Substantial improvements were rapidly effected, and in 1893 the first train ran from Kayes to Mahina. In 1896 the Bafing was bridged. In May 1904 the line, metre-gauge all the way, reached the Niger at Bamako and on 10 December that year it reached Koulikoro. It has since been considerably improved.

In the summer of 1902 the Senegal failed to rise. This prevented any effective provisioning of the posts in French Sudan and also gave a stimulus to railway construction. The original plan for a line from St. Louis to Kayes was dropped, and Thiès was chosen as the junction. The new railway was intended not only to provide a link between existing lines but also to find and attract local traffic. Various routes were discussed, and in 1907 construction began from both ends. The section from Kayes to Ambidedi (26 miles) was opened in December 1908 and that from Thiès to Diourbel (50½ miles) on 16 July 1909. Work on the latter began again in February 1910 and the line reached Guinguiné in the December of that year. By the middle of 1913 it

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Mali MS 35

was at Kousanar, and when war came in 1914 it had reached a place called Cotiari Naoudé, 258 miles from Thiès. In 1920 a force of 8,000 labourers was recruited, and the line was completed on 5 August 1923.

Branch Lines. Work on the branch from Guinguiné to Kaolack began on 6 June 1911, and the line was officially opened on 1 January 1912. This railway, of course, has transformed Kaolack and has been the prime factor in its growth to its present importance. The private line from Kaolack to Lyndiane was built by the firm of Charles Peyrissac et Cie in 1925.

The line from Diourbel was originally planned to go to Tal-Tal and Thiel. Construction began on 1 December 1929, and the line reached Touba on 1 March 1931. Financial difficulties postponed further extension, and nothing more has been done up to the present. This branch has proved valuable to local producers of ground-nuts and has been more successful than its contemporary to Linguéré.

This latter was begun from Louga early in 1929 and reached Coki (18½ miles) on 1 October that year. Railhead was at Dahra on 1 October 1930 and the whole line was finished on 1 October 1931. Results have not been quite as good as had been hoped.

Permanent Way, Locomotives, and Rolling-stock

Rails and Sleepers. The section from Dakar to St. Louis has rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard) bought second-hand from the Nord Railway of France in 1929, and that from Thiès to Kayes has rails weighing 25 kg. and 26 kg. per metre (50½ lb. and 52½ lb. per yard). The track from Kayes to Koulikoro was originally laid with rails weighing 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard) and was notorious for its numerous rail breakages; but it is now in process of being relaid on a new alinement with rails weighing 30 kg. per metre (61 lb. per yard). The Louga–Linguéré branch was given the old rails from the Dakar–St. Louis line. These weigh 20 kg. per metre (40 lb. per yard).

Sleepers are of steel.

Gradients and Curvature. These vary considerably, but there are no gradients steeper than 1:30, and the minimum radius of curves is 197 yards. It is intended ultimately to reduce these figures to 1:71 and 219 yards respectively.

Bridges. The principal bridges are noted in the itineraries below. Minor bridges are of steel and concrete, and in many cases old rails are used as reinforcing bars. Culverts are numerous.

/95 cont./

134 From the geological viewpoint, the soil of Sine-Saloum is silico-argillaceous, except for the edge of the sea formed by dunes of white sand. Sand predominates in the north. Everywhere else it is mixed with red clay.

135 The subsoil covers ferruginous rock, alluvial laterite, undoubtedly coming from the decomposition of granitic rock; this is the ferruginous fossil layer, following the expression of Henri Hubert, which covers the limestone and marl of the Eocene period.

Numerous outcrops of laterite appear at Kaffrine, Koungheul, in Mandack, and in Rip.

The digging of wells tells us something about the composition of the terrain forming the subsoil in this region. Under a more or less thick layer of sand, one finds laterite, then chalk or soft limestone, and finally hard limestone.

A highly varied and fossilized marine fauna has been discovered in the soft limestone at a depth of about 35, 40, 45 meters.

173 b) Historical survey. The history of the inhabitants consists of more or less confused oral traditions. No account has been handed down in writing. We can therefore only rely on narrations, sometimes contradictory, which the natives hand down orally.

The representatives of the conquering or conquered races have their own versions. It is difficult for the European to tell which part is truth or falsehood. Our penetration into
175 this part of Senegal is /96/ recent. It happened barely 80
438 years ago. At first it was fragmentary; the region was traversed by the merchant or trader at the time of the slave trade; the latter quickly returned to his base from the Petite Côte or from Gorée, the turbulence of the tribes not permitting him to stay in the region or to settle down there. A number of business establishments were founded at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth, but their existence was ephemeral and in any case precarious.
175 The internal struggles between the tribes gave the region little

S /96 cont./

175 security. It took until 1860 to catch sight of a beginning of colonization, an attempt at penetration, supported by arms.

S SR 175 SR 631 Two large political groupings and a multitude of petty states, both independent and vassal, divided the region.

On the one hand, the kingdom of Sine, peopled by Sérère, was established to the west, on the right bank of the Saloum, from the ocean to a distance of 20 kilometers from Kaolack.

Neighboring the latter, surrounding Kaolack and extending to the east up to Kaffrine, going north to Kael, and planting its roots to the south of the Saloum River as far as Rip, extended the kingdom of Saloum, peopled by Sérère, Toucouleur /Tukolor/, and Ouoloff /Wolof/.

On the right bank one found the vassal state of N'Doukoumane, subject to the king of Saloum, and the semi-independent state of Koungheul; on the left bank, the now independent, now vassal states of Pakalla and Mandack, Rip, Laghem, and Niombato.

SR [643] Sine and Saloum had a very hierarchical political and administrative organization. The sovereign authority was held by the "Bour" or king. Powerful and respected, this great chief was surrounded by counselors or ministers with whose help he governed, administered justice, levied taxes, and declared war. It was this organization that we found upon our arrival in the region. It is very old, but the exact time at which it was established cannot be stated.

S SR 173 [144] It seems certain, however, that the country was originally inhabited by the Sérère, who thus were the first inhabitants. A fetishistic people, they are related /97/, according to their morphological characteristics, to the Lébou of the peninsula of Cape Verde.

At an undetermined time, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, coming from N'Gabou (Portuguese Guinea), crossed the Gambia, occupied Coular, crossed the Saloum, and overran Sine, capturing M'Bissel, the capital of the Sérère.

Conquered, the latter offered their submission. In contrast to the other races, they stayed on their ancestral land SR [563] without emigrating. The Mandingue invasion did not concern

SR 645 /98 cont./ there was the Grand Farba, a slave of the crown, who performed the functions of head of the army. There was also the Farba Birkeur, or court minister, and a series of dignitaries for various jobs, up to the court jester or Bissète.

S SR 175 648 - The first attempts at French colonization in this part of Senegal date back to 1859, the date of the first military expedition into Sine-Saloum. In 1875, we concluded a treaty of alliance and trade with the king of Saloum, but the provisions were never observed by the native chiefs.

Governor Faidherbe explored the country and carried on reconnaissance as far as Kaolack. Following this demonstration he made a new treaty with the Bour Saloum in 1859. This agreement, like the preceding one, remained a dead letter, and it was necessary to organize an expedition in February 1861. Major Pinet-Laprade was given the command.

The marabout, a warrior of the Toucouleur race, Ma Ba, installed at Nioro-Rip, rose up against our arms.

In 1865 his activities forced us to throw a column into Rip.

Defeated by us, he nevertheless held us in check until 1867, when he was killed in the battle of Somb.

His brother, Mamour Dary, was only able to resist us weakly. Upon his death, Saër Maty resumed hostilities, seizing Kahone, the capital of Saloum.

His power becoming troublesome, an expedition /99/ was deemed necessary. It took place in April 1887, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coronnat.

Nioro was taken, and on May 14, 1887, a treaty was signed with the chiefs of Saloum, placing Saloum, Niom, and Rip under our protection.

S [634] An administrator was placed at Foundiougne, and a circle was created.

In 1891, treaties made with the kings of Sine and Saloum secured our authority definitively throughout the country.

The administrative organization was then set up gradually and without difficulties.

22: Poix--1 G.T-5 (1822) 1955 MS30 Wolof MS30
Senegal MS37

/41/

Foreword

A curious figure, Christophe Paulin de la Poix, Chevalier de Fréminville, captain of the frigates of the king. W 114

There were three different persons in him: the sailor, the writer and natural scientist, and the eccentric (his custom of dressing as a woman caused him to be nicknamed "la chevalière").

Born in 1787, he served under Napoleon, then under the Restoration. It was in 1822 that he made the voyage to Senegal aboard "la Néreide" which is reported here.

Unfortunately we have only extracts from the memoirs of the Chevalier; the picturesque recollection of Dakar that he relates to us makes us regret that we do not possess the complete work, but we do not know who has it.

We hereby thank the Librairie Champion for having kindly authorized us to reproduce the following pages (pages 107-125) taken from the Mémoires du Chevalier de Fréminville (1787-1849), collected by E. Herpin, Paris, Champion, 1913. We have added to it some short notes intended to clarify the text. (N. D. L. R.).

/42/ On the fourth of April (1822), in the morning, the sea had manifestly changed color. We made ready to strike for the coast of Saint-Louis, a little to the north of the Senegal River. We did not reach it until the next day. W 123

We were scarcely at anchor when the lighter la Cauchoise, commanded by the chevalier de Missielly, post lieutenant /lieutenant de vaisseau/, passed our stern. Its whole crew, gathered at the side, saluted us three times with the shout of "Long live the King!" We returned the salute with three similar shouts.

Not until the seventh did the state of the bar permit a pilot from Saint-Louis to come on board. This pilot brought us, on behalf of M. Roger (1), governor of the colony, the most S 505

1. Baron Roger, governor of Senegal from 1822 to 1827, a

S [175] [654]

/42 cont./

S 505 [175] [659]

remarkable man -- in spite of the estimation of Fréminville. Aided by the gardener Richard, he gave a vigorous push to agronomic research in Senegal.

singular letter. M. Roger, ex-barrister, then housing administrator, and subsequently having become -- nobody knows how -- governor, was asking us what our tonnage was, the nature of our cargo, the name of our firm...

Wanting to laugh at his expense, our commander answered him that the frigate of the King of France, la Néreide, was sent from Brest by M. Louis, citizen of Paris, foremost merchant of the kingdom; that she carried a load of powder and balls, as well as 325 soldiers destined for the colony; that therefore he requested him to send us as soon as possible some small boats in order to transport our passengers to land.

W 123

The debarkation of our troops dragged on until the fourteenth under the most deplorable conditions.

Just at that date 130 men arrived for us, coming from Africa and destined for Gorée. They were commanded by M. de Lâge, battalion chief and chevalier de Saint-Louis. This officer was accompanied by his wife, his son, and his daughter. The latter, 15 years old, was very pretty.

W 439

We also received a multitude of parrots, parakeets, and monkeys brought by Negroes, and everyone amused himself by buying some of them. As a result, there was an unendurable concert on board.

Much more welcome than all this menagerie, abundant provisions of oranges, lemons, coconuts, and bananas were also brought to us by a schooner which arrived from Cape Verde.

W 123 [136]

We got under way on the eighteenth. All day long we hugged the shore of a low, sandy land. Night brought us a very strange concert. It was given for us by lions who were bathing in the waves near the shore. In the darkness of the evening these roars reminded one of the noise of thunder, but had a much more curious and frightening character.

/44 cont./

The city is made up of 150 houses, well built and of 361
attractive appearance. They are embellished with exterior
galleries supported by pilasters.

I noticed the former seat of government (9) where the

9. At the back of the present square garden of the rue du Port. A comemorative plaque indicates the site of the former seat of government occupied by de Boufflers.

chevalier de Boufflers, so well known for his light poetry, [175]
lived. Governor of Senegal from 1786 to 1789, he preferred
to stay at Gorée rather than at Saint-Louis.

Today his house is falling into ruins. In front stretches
a splendid esplanade planted with tall trees. In the back, an
abandoned garden. There can still be seen a long avenue of
mimosas, coconut trees, and various other species of palm
trees, which the chevalier took pleasure in cultivating at great [137]
expense on this volcanic rock devoid of vegetable soil.

At the summit of the island, the citadel (10). It, too,

10. The present Castel /castle/, fortified anew under the Second Empire.

is falling into ruins. Without an enclosure, without even a
gate, the European cemetery (11) stretches at its feet. Graves 764

11. Nothing is left of it today.

lined up side by side inform the traveler that, on this soil, once
spewed forth by fire (12), today devoured by a torrid sun and

12. The high part of Gorée (the Castel) is of volcanic origin.

a' [i.e. Gorée -- Analyst]

175, 648, 726

[For a discussion of the French relations with the damels of Cayor, a Wolof state, between 1859 and 1864 when this kingdom became part of the colony of Senegal (especially the military operations) see 34:Faidherbe, MS30 Wolof, category 116.]